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E. O. 11652: N/A TAGS: PFOR CY TU

SUBJECT: RISING LEVEL OF POLITICAL RHETORIC

1. SUMMARY: LEVEL OF POLITICAL RHETORIC IS RISING, REFLECTING BROAD GREEK-TURKISH DIFFERENCES OVER BRUSSELS ACCORD INTERPRETATION, HARDENING PUBLIC POSITIONS, AND GROWING LOCAL PESSIMISM OF BOTH SIDES REGARDING POSSI-BILITY OF CONSTRUCTIVE NEGOTIATIONS IN FEBRUARY. TURK CYPRIOT LEADER DENKTASH ATTACKS MAKARIOS AND "ILLEGAL" GOC, INSISTS ON TURKS' SOVEREIGN EQUAL RIGHTS IN INDEPEN-DENCE OF CYPRUS, AND TAKES HARD LINE ON CONCESSIONS. MAKARIOS CONTINUES TO TALK ABOUT STRUGGLING FOR RETURN OF ALL REFUGEES; FONMIN CHRISTOPHIDES CHARGES THAT TURKISH OBJECTIVE ON CYPRUS IS PARTITION; GOC SPOKESMAN CLAIMS TURKS HAVE RENEGED ON VIENNA III AGREEMENT AND NOW PLANNING TO RESETTLE FAMAGUSTA. END SUMMARY.

2. TURK CYPRIOT LEADER DENKTASH, IN SERIES OF PRE-LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ELECTION CAMPAIGN SPEECHES AND STATEMENTS TO PRESS IN

PAST WEEK, HAS CONTINUED TO VIGOROUSLY ASSERT TURKISH CASE ON CYPRUS AND ATTACK GREEK CYPRIOT LEADERSHIP. FAVORITE AND RECURRING THEMES HAVE BEEN: A) MAKARIOS AND GREEK CYPRIOTS HAVE USURPED TURKISH RIGHTS FOR PAST 12 YEARS AND LEFT TURK CYPRIOTS STATELESS; B) REFUGEE QUESTION HAS BEEN RESOLVED FOLLOWING VIENNA III AGREED POPULATION TRANSFER; RETURN OF GREEK REFUGEES WOULD MAKE 60,000 TURKS REFUGEES FOR FOURTH TIME IN TWENTY YEARS: C) GREEKS HAVE RENEGED ON VIENNA III COMMITMENTS BY DENYING THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF BIZONAL PRINCIPLE: D) MAKARIOS' CONTINUING ATTEMPTS TO POSE AS LEGAL GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS AND HIS TALK OF ALL REFUGEES RETURNING ARE PROOF THAT HE HAS NOT ABANDONED ENOSIS AND DOES NOT SEEK PEACE; E) TURKS WILL INSIST ON EQUAL RIGHTS IN THE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE OF CYPRUS AND WILL NOT ALLOW MAKARIOS OR OTHERS TO TURN CLOCK BACK SO THAT TURKISH COMMUNITY IS AGAIN POLITICAL HOSTAGE OF THE GREEKS; F) TURKISH SIDE CAN ONLY MAKE BORDER ADJUSTMENTS, NOT TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS; G) ECONOMIC SITUATION IS DIFFICULT NOW, BUT TURKS ARE FINALLY SECURE FOR THE FIRST TIME AND FUTURE OF COMMUNITY IS BRIGHT.

- 3. TYPICAL OF TONE AND TENOR OF DENKTASH'S RECENT STATEMENTS IS JANUARY 24 SPEECH IN MORPHOU IN WHICH HE EXHORTED CROWD TO PRESERVE AS A HOMELAND THE LANDS LIBERATED WITH TURKISH BLOOD AND LIVES AND TO PREVENT REPETITION OF TEARFUL, BLOODY PAST. "THESE LANDS (WE HAVE) ARE NOT GREEK. THEY ARE OURS AND WE SHALL DEFEND THEM." "YOU HAVE FILLED THE SOIL WITH MARTYRS, LEFT EVERYTHING BEHIND, AND COME HERE (TO THE NORTH) IN ORDER TO LIVE AS SOVEREIGN EQUALS. I SHALL NOT NOW GIVE ALL THIS AWAY TO MAKARIOS AT THE BARGAINING TABLE."
- 4. GOC HAS NOW RESPONDED IN FULL MEASURE OVER PAST WEEKEND. ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS, VISITING POTAMIA VILLAGE JANUARY 25, REEMPHASIZED THAT GREEKS "WOULD CONTINUE OUR STRUGGLE FOR A JUST SOLUTION TO OUR PROBLEM AND THE RETURN OF ALL REFUGEES TO THEIR ANCESTRAL HOMES." HE ALSO REPEATED STANDARD -- AND WISHFUL -- LINE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THAT EXCEPT FOR OUTSIDE INTERVENTIONS, GREEK AND TURKISH CYPRIOTS COULD HAVE LIVED PEACEFULLY AND HARMONIOUSLY AS THEY HAD IN THE PAST. DENKTASH, IN TURN, RETORTED THAT CONTINUED TALK ABOUT STRUGGLE UNTIL ALL REFUGEES RETURN "PROVES" THAT MAKARIOS DOES NOT WANT PEACE; THAT HE STILL SEEKS ENOSIS AND ANNIHILATION OF TURKISH COMMUNITY; THAT GREEK CYPRIOTS STILL DO NOT ACCEPT BIZONAL SYSTEM AND THAT TWO COMMUNITIES ONLY LIVED IN PEACE

DURING OTTOMAN PERIOD WHEN TURKS CONTROLLED ALL OF CYPRUS.

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5. FOEIGN MINISTER CHRISTOPHIDES, IM MAJOR SPEECH TO NICOSIA LION'S CLUB JANUARY 26, CHARGED THAT TURKEY'S REAL OBJECTIVE ON CYPRUS WAS PARTITION. TO THIS END, HE CLAIMED, TURKEY HAS USED THE TURK CYPRIOTS AS PAWNS, IMPOSED SELF-SEGREGATION POLICY ON THEM SINCE 1963, UPROOTED GREEK CYPRIOT POPULATION. AND BEGUN PROCESS OF SYSTEMATIC COLONIZATION FROM TURKEY. CHRISTOPHIDES ALSO SAID OUTLOOK WAS PESSIMISTIC FOR MEANINGFUL AND CONSTRUCTIVE NEGOTIATIONS UNLESS THE "VARIANTS" (WHICH HE IDENTIFIED AS US ARMS EMBARGO, POLITICAL UNREST IN TURKEY, ECONOMIC BURDEN OF INTERVENTION, TURKEY'S INTER-NATIONAL ISOLATION) "ACQUIRE SUCH MOMENTUM AND IMPOR-TANCE FOR THE WIDER NATIONAL INTERESTS OF TURKEY AS TO INFLUENCE HER BASIC POLICY ON CYPRUS." CHRISTOPHIDES ALLEGED THAT TURKEY HAD NOT YET SHOWN A DESIRE TO NEGOTIATE MEANINGFULLY, DESPITE THE LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO, AND WONDERED WHETHER TURKEY'S COURSE WAS ONE OF "BRINKMANSHIP" OR "BLACKMAIL." "THE DATE

OF RECKONING IS APPROACHING," HE WARNED. "THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TURKISH SIDE'S ATTITUDE AT THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS WILL SHOW WHICH WAY TURKEY WISHES TO GO AND PRESIDENT FORD'S RELEVANT REPORT TO CONGRESS WILL DEMONSTRATE HOW TURKEY INTERPRETS THE WISHES OF THE AMERICAN CONGRESS." CHRISTOPHIDES CONCLUDED THEN, DESPITE PESSIMISTIC OUTLOOK FOR FORTHCOMING TALKS GOC WILL PROCEED TO VIENNA IN GOOD FAITH AIMING FOR SOLUTION "IN ACCORDANCE WITH UN RESOLUTIONS".

6. CONTINUING FRONTAL ATTACK ON TURKISH "INTRANSIGENCE,"
GOC SPOKESMAN JANUARY 26 ACCUSED TURKS OF FAILING TO
IMPLEMENT VIENNA III AGREEMENTS. FAR FROM IMPROVING
LIVING CONDITIONS OF GREEKS IN NORTH, SPOKESMAN CHARGED,
TURKS WERE USING PSYCHOLOGICAL AND OTHER PRESSURES ON GREEKS
AS PART OF "WELL PREPARED PLAN FOR THE EXPULSION OF GREEK
CYPRIOTS AND SETTLEMENT OF TURKS FROM TURKEY INTO THEIR HOMES."
SPOKESMAN ALSO ALLEGED THAT TURKS ARE CHANGING STREET
NAMES AND HOUSE NUMBERS IN FAMAGUSTA AS PRELUDE TO
SETTLEMENT OF TURKS IN NEW CITY.

7. COMMENT: RISING LEVEL OF RHETORIC, COMBINED WITH SAGGING HOPES AND HARDENED PUBLIC POSITIONS, HAS EMBITTERED BOTH SIDES AND REDUCED CHANCES FOR CONSTRUCTIVE NEGOTIATIONS. IT IS A LONG WAY UNTIL FEBRUARY 17 (WHEN TALKS ARE SCHEDULED TO RESUME) AND IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT WE WILL BE IN FOR MORE, RATHER THAN LESS, OF THIS KIND OF UNHELPFUL PUBLIC DEBATE UNTIL THEN. END COMMENT. CRAWFORD

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